UNFUNDED MANDATES/Constitutionally Off-Budget Social Security

SUBJECT: Unfunded Mandate Reform Act of 1995 . . . S. 1. Craig motion to table the Harkin perfecting amendment No. 224 to the Harkin amendment No. 190, as amended.

ACTION: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, 62-38

SYNOPSIS: Pertinent votes on this legislation include Nos. 15-41, 43-45, 47-51, and 52-61.

As reported by the Governmental Affairs Committee and the Budget Committee, S. 1, the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act of 1995, will create 2 majority (51-vote) points of order in the Senate. The first will lie against the consideration of a bill or joint resolution reported by an authorizing committee if it contains mandates and if Congressional Budget Office (CBO) cost estimates on those mandates are unavailable. The second point of order will lie against the consideration of a bill, joint resolution, motion, amendment, or conference report that will cause the total cost of unfunded intergovernmental mandates in the legislation to exceed \$50 million.

The Harkin amendment, as amended (see vote Nos. 50 and 51), would express the sense of the Senate that "any legislation required to implement a balanced budget amendment to the United States Constitution shall specifically prevent social security benefits from being reduced or social security taxes from being increased to meet the balanced budget requirement." The amendment would also make 11 findings on the Social Security program, including that it is financed through payroll taxes and that Social Security beneficiaries deserve to be reassured that their benefits will not be subject to cuts and their social security payroll taxes will not be increased as a result of legislation to implement a balanced budget amendment to the United States Constitution.

The Harkin perfecting amendment to the underlying Harkin amendment, as amended, would add back the language of that underlying amendment that was stricken by the Kempthorne amendment (see vote Nos. 50 and 51). That language would express the sense of the Senate that "any joint resolution providing for a balanced budget amendment to the United States Constitution passed by the Senate shall specifically exclude social security from the calculations used to determine if the Federal Budget is in balance." That language would also make 13 findings on the Social Security program, including that it is a contributory program.

NOTE: Following the vote, the Harkin amendment, as amended by the Kempthorne amendment, was adopted by voice vote.

(See other side)

YEAS (62)			NAYS (38)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Republicans Democrats		Republicans	epublicans Democrats		Republicans Democrats		
(53 or 100%)		(9 or 19%)	(0 or 0%)	(38 or 81%)		(0)	(0)
Abraham Ashcroft Bennett Bond Brown Burns Chafee Coats Cochran Cohen Coverdell Craig D'Amato DeWine Dole Domenici Faircloth Frist Gorton Gramm Grams Grassley Gregg Hatch Hatfield Helms	Hutchison Inhofe Jeffords Kassebaum Kempthorne Kyl Lott Lugar Mack McCain McConnell Murkowski Nickles Packwood Pressler Roth Santorum Shelby Simpson Smith Snowe Specter Stevens Thomas Thomas Thompson Thurmond Warner	Byrd Campbell Dodd Exon Kerrey Lieberman Moynihan Robb Simon		Akaka Baucus Biden Bingaman Boxer Bradley Breaux Bryan Bumpers Conrad Daschle Dorgan Feingold Feinstein Ford Glenn Graham Harkin Heflin	Hollings Inouye Johnston Kennedy Kerry Kohl Lautenberg Leahy Levin Mikulski Moseley-Braun Murray Nunn Pell Pryor Reid Rockefeller Sarbanes Wellstone	EXPLANAT 1—Official I 2—Necessar 3—Illness 4—Other SYMBOLS: AY—Annou AN—Annou PY—Paired PN—Paired	nced Yea nced Nay Yea

VOTE NO. 52 JANUARY 26, 1995

Those favoring the motion to table contended:

This vote is essentially the third vote in a row we have had on exactly the same topic. First, the Senate failed to table the Kempthorne amendment, which offered an alternative to the Harkin amendment. Then it voted to adopt the Kempthorne amendment, with many Senators who had just voted against it on the tabling motion voting in favor of its adoption. Now we are being asked to vote on the Harkin amendment, to reinstate the language of the original Harkin amendment. To make matters curiouser and curiouser, we suspect that many Senators who just voted in favor of the Kempthorne amendment, which wiped out the language of the Harkin amendment, will now vote in favor of putting that language back in. Politics can be a funny business. The arguments for and against the Harkin and Kempthorne amendments have not changed, but Senators' votes have shifted nervously anyway, because Social Security is a volatile issue. For our part, we will support the motion to table the Harkin amendment, for the reasons we expressed against the motion to table the Kempthorne amendment (see vote No. 50).

Those opposing the motion to table contended:

We oppose the motion to table the Harkin amendment for the reasons we expressed when we urged our colleagues to table the Kempthorne amendment (see vote No. 50).